l:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tinderet Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngwet*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porowet*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *koroosek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognised by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognise four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imoik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *koosoosik*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kipindowik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kowet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapsowaik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*panaosi*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognise their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

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AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only eleusine. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbarsit*, pl. *imbaresik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land, provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paiek*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropesonik* are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also stone axes, *ndobut*, and knives, *rotuet* or *cambolust*.

The sowing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muaisonik*, from October to March, and *iwotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and rodents. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniat* (*rubus rigidus*), *kemsiyuat* (*rhoicissus americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa sasota*, wild banana), the sap of the *sesuriet*, and leaves of nettle, *sinet*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kiptotiosik* or *kumik* as it is, once from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage

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[962] [213] tree," *rotinust* (*higelia æthiopica*); and *maiyeh*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lokomek*.

Trade and Exchange

439 The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, [648] [177] the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and [582] there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi [181] [186] fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to [437] the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1930 were:

[935]
1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

[915] The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

231 The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they [177] have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; [648] but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpai	11	0	0
	90	34	7

[171] Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorôbo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*listo*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipketînik* (N.). Tobacco (*tumatet*, N.; or *chepkochûtit*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*mit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*terônik-ap-tumatet*, or *kweînik*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprauwit* (N. *kipraut*) (Text-fig. 22), made from soseiyat (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorôbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbaret*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*olbaiek*†, or *paiek*; N. *pâk*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *inguriet*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngemuuyo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*mpitibo*,[3] pl. *mpitikoîsiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*anget*, N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*engeraiit*†) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entorriit*†) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingait*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat*† and *kimeitsiit* (Text-figs. 13–17); N. *kimeitsitiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkoiyuit*; N. *chepkowit*) and upper garments (*koliket*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*makirorînik* and *karik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingait*, pl. *asingoîsiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkochutit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorôbo.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sitotik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momonyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sasuriet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *sinot*, girardinia condensata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*saiuet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepenguet* bush (aemilia integrifolia), or of the *serenguet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little ekuuine beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kiptetinik* or *kumik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *rotinuet* tree (kigelia aethiopica or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kenam rotik, kepele mat si kokwer;
They-are-taken the-seed-pods, they-are-boiled-on the-fire that they-may-be-split;
kiune ilosto si kipete tukuk ee somisee ku/
they-are-washed-in the-river that they-may-be-lost the-things which-are dirty till
kepambunit. Kema si keyomio. Kiinde teret
they-become-soft. They-are-put-in-the-sun that they-may-dry. They-are-put-into the-po
ole mii kumiat puc, si kowunit, kiinde ee eigeet
where there-is the-honey only, that it-may-become-bitter, there-is-put the-wate-

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hopotok. Kiinde tapat kut korurio. Peni-e ekosiek ee can si korurio 273
so-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may-
kut koiek maiyak. Kiie.
ripen till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.) Another drink called *lokomek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation. 272

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my acquaintance named Arap Kete had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Minin, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far as possible by the principle of naring, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows:

262 224 177 262 [464] [466] [693] 476 224 476 [888]

Hunter
1. Own family.
2. Own parents.
3. Wife's parents.
4. Fellow hunters.

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313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Ollamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Cornet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[6] :

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapanariet:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[276] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Sitotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
● [273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *herepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci herepoinik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapanariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[1] The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [6] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[1 i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

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father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kecuiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo [1], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 278.

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is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible[39]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*liteito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*himiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*inguek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[39] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

7:Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241 A form of
[273] beer called *mes* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Lembweng*, when there
[132] are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognised, as are two other seasons or months: *Lowere*, a time of rain; and *Loichatto*, a time of much rain.

805 *The Calendar.*—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Lobongo.	*Lembweng.*	*Lobongo.*	*Lobongo.*	*Lembweng.*
Lemuka.	*Lobongo.*	*Lembweng.*	*Lembweng.*	*Lowere.*
Lobwe.	*Lemuuk.*	*Lemuuk.*	*Lemuuk.*	*Loichatto.*
Lowere.	*Loichatto.*	*Loichatto.*	*Loichatto.*	*Lembongo.*
,,	*Lowere.*	*Lowere.*	*Lowere.*	,,
,,	,,			

262 *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivores of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chicken (the Doketho say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set
[222] for and wide in the trees.

462 *Division of Labour.*—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

517 *Recreations.*—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

439 *Manufactures.*—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither
[289] baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using
[323] gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Doketho in exchange for tobacco.
[419] Their shields (*kwan*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*kiu*) come from the Dodinga
[411] country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing
[352] spear. These, it may be noted, are the only barbed spears I saw in Karamoja. They use headrests (*ambidwap*) of Doketho origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world,
[531] they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

14:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939)1942
FLS DocobFLS

[P.194, B]

261
[548]

or working for it; (3) by prostitution.

Eleusine is made into beer as well as eaten; 273
honey provides both food and intoxicant (*kipketi-nik*), and salt is made by burning the caves of 262
teperguet (*aerulia integrifolia*). 263

Fig. 1 shows a clan-settlement, and the division 361
of the *imbaret* among the four households which 614
form it.

The relationship between the various members of this settlement is shown in the table on page 195.

A^1, A^2 [see category 116, pp. 194 (c), 195 -- Analyst]

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *inbaret* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *inbaret* and live-stock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, classmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and classmen, if it will go so far. [962] [342] [241] [224] 592 421 [224] [344] 574 273 276 [331]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kuskegut*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. 312 [771]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Misiiy, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this [224] [771] [845]

14 Huntingford E-S (1930-1939) 1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6

[P.196, B]

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

224
[124]
[648]
[834]

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesumiki* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

[776]
[782]

Asis, ĝoĝyuk paspuk.
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesumiki, ekkuch tiony ne kipun.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kemiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and investment: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, [illegible]"

222
[262]
[278]

[111]

[1] [illegible] [124]

Lh Meiner--306 G-5 (1896-ca.1908) 1911 FLIS Mawi
Dorobe FLS
Aaa

/378 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[852] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
239 dried, it is moved away in the above-mentioned ruse, close to the
251 camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Wawi
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobbo, in barter with neighboring tribes, are able to come into
[859] the possession of vegetables, they also live on them, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for women and children. Many of them
[872] devour milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Wawi belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[870] way as the Wawi, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[871] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobbo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[852] Both the foods for the men, his wives, and children and, on the other
[815] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kinikeg), of
283 which each adult drinking in the meal has his own. From the last
191 laws of the Wawi, the custom that young uncircised men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little soapy
ash and /333/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/Bill cont./

with fat several times. It is heat over the fire. The ends is plaited together, coming out invisible, out of dust animal wastes and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of wastes are neatly cut off, whereupon one then robs the new finished bowstring with more fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 94) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is vested with feathers that have been coated with the remarkable juice of a not yet described species of plaintive known as dirdi, whereupon, as rep, one drills in the end- /Bill/ /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here/ cone-shaped hole for the ring of the arrow by a rotating motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feathering -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine hair thread and then glued fast with the glutinous juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal wastes is found between the feathering and the cue notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

The people buy the iron points only if a piece breaks off /Bill/ as they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Ainus. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the Kerintshis of the island. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned. The bag for the rear part boy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from veterinary rubber. On the other hand, in more places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

The fact that the Wandschina ag ost play the board game so popular among the Ainus was explained to me by Bill with the words "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

With the coming of darkness complete silence as a rule rules over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on special evenings do the old people often sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a good bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls have met on their talents sing ring out through the still night, from

[illegible] 213 [illegible]

DS Harbor--FLS G-4 (1899-ca.1918) 1911 FLS Wood
Dorobo FLS
A.m.

/Ki' ewet./
which now and then, as though on an uneven, the cry of a predatory animal responds over to them. The dance differs from that of the Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only raise their heels. The narrow, veiled place of the camp permits only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied each time by song.

In a falsetto (3)

[36] 1. Recorded by Hans Waldmann /half physician/ Dr. Rhenish.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (seventeen strokes), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends to the six-four /[illegible]/ chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer than the falsetto, until, descending to the same degree of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, is just uncertainly, is just playfully.

Arpeggiations, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the entire gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- ak rooto nakt /so to speak/. No other figure are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octaves; on the fundamental tone is pleased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four /[illegible]/ chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as wrong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often pathetic, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /Ki'/ text is arranged at thirteen /ar vili/ for each one heightens the tension, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listener.

18 Merker--316 G-6 (888-ca.1908) 1911 PLIS Masai
Dorobo PLS
Kwa

/230 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest 191 childhood seems to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /Kik/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [848] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [684] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the wedding of the married, and 574 their fellow companions confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol gatad i ol ik, to which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, [224] the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be [439] paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, [illegible] the rank that belongs to its furthermore, two head of cattle, which

[illegible]

From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for [illegible], which they call keeping or keeping. For a keeping a feast, a feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves in a circle around a small fire (see which), just as for every other supplication feast, they wave the censer of the honey bee, rendering clouds of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles these persons with honey bee, they sing [illegible]. After this has gone on for a quarter of an hour, they rest to dance, continuing to sing the same words. The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey bee are consumed. At a keeping a egg they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the companions station themselves around the fire and sing [illegible] (meat = game). The men wearing the bearskin act out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing [illegible] which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the elk deer (Alces palmatus) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing [illegible]. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, for then after a keeping a egg they always returned from hunting with rich booty. The [illegible] do not have a feast corresponding to the of eggs | of guests. Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut off a strip out of the hide of an animal just shot and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are very commonly used. The caftan are only one, which they called raven and which consisted of a small piece of [illegible]. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to pro-

[illegible] supplications Feast conducted by the Bears to preserve the health of human beings and [illegible]-dead part.]